R E P O R T  R E S U M E S

ED 019 335 UD 005 138

FACTORS IMPEDING THE EDUCATION OF LOWER-CLASS CHILDREN.

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PUB DATE 28 NOV 67

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.25 HC-$1.08 25P.

DESCRIPTORS- *STUDENT SCHOOL RELATIONSHIP, *DISADVANTAGED YOUTH, *EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS, MOTIVATION, INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES, PARENT CHILD RELATIONSHIP, SCHOOL ORGANIZATION, EDUCATIONAL IMPROVEMENT, FAMILY ENVIRONMENT, PEER RELATIONSHIP, CULTURAL DIFFERENCES, STUDENT TEACHER RELATIONSHIP, LOWER CLASS, SUBCULTURE,

FOR STUDENTS FROM FAMILIES CHARACTERIZED BY CHRONIC UNEMPLOYMENT, UNDEREMPLOYMENT, AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION, THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION IS VIRTUALLY THE ONLY AVENUE OF UPWARD MOBILITY. AT PRESENT, THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IS NOT GIVING THESE STUDENTS ACADEMIC SKILLS IN EARLY GR ADES NECESSARY FOR THEIR LATER SUCCESS MANY COMPENSATORY EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN INITIATED WITH VARYING RESULTS, INDICATING THAT A TRUE REMEDY TO THE EDUCATIONAL DEFICIENCIES OF LOWER LOWER-CLASS STUDENTS CAN ONLY BE FOUND IN A WHOLE COMPLEX OF FACTORS AT ALL LEVELS OF ANALYSIS. THE FACTORS WHICH AFFECT THESE STUDENTS EXIST AT (1) THE CULTURAL LEVEL, INCLUDING SUBCULTURAL FACTORS, (2) THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL, INCLUDING STUDENT-TEACHER RELATIONS, (3) THE PRIMARY GROUP LEVEL, AND (4) THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL. A MASSIVE ATTACK AT ALL LEVELS, ALONG WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW LEGITIMATE OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE FOR THOSE FEW WHO WILL NEVER BE ABLE TO ADVANCE IN THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION, IS NEEDED. THE COST IS GREAT BUT THE SOCIAL COST OF NOT IMPLEMENTING AN INTEGRATED PROGRAM OF THIS NATURE WILL BE FAR GREATER IN THE LONG RUN. (DK)

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# FACTORS IMPEDING THE EDUCATION OF LOWER-LOWER CLASS CHILDREN

YPSILANTI PUBLIC SCHOOLS

UD 005 139

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Nov. 28, 1967

Before beginning, three qualifications must be offered to the paper that follows.

1. The content applies not to the blue-collar worker, or the man on the Ford assembly line. Rather, the focus of the paper is the lower-lower class, the families characterized by chronic unemployment, or underemployment, and disorganization, the residents of squalid housing who are continuously confronted with problems of poor health, delinquency, and conflict with the police. These are the people whom Moynihan recently described as the underclass.

2. The discussion to follow does not apply uniformly to all members of the underclass. There are always exceptions.. Social class is a statement of probability, not of determination.

3. There have been changes in the past two years as a result of the relatively sudden availability of state and federal funds for compensatory educational programs. It is still too early to determine how effective the new programs have been, or how pervasive. By and large, the statements which follow probably still apply to the majority of schools in the nation housing the majority of the lower-lower-class children.

In contemporary American society, the educational institution is the primary legitimate channel for upward mobility for those who are initially low in status, virtually the only channel. According to Cloward and Chlin (1960), there was, also, an illegitimate opportunity structure in the era of large migrations from Europe, but that alternative is rapidly diminishing. Remaining in the slums is largely disorganization which is dysfunctional for the development of any opportunity structure, even one outside the law.

Perhaps it is a gross misfortune that a modicum of academic achievement is the sine qua non for success. Expressive ability, artistic integrity, sincerity, honesty, and similar attributes should be equally rewarded. But in our industrial society of increasingly complex technology, literacy and an understanding of basic mathematical functions are valued. Of equal importance are self-restraint, reliability, and punctuality. These virtues need not be accompanied by scholastic achievement but they are difficult to ascertain in a short period of time. The most conclusive proof of their existence, to the vast majority of employers, is the possession of a high school diploma. Thus, if young children are to mature into adults who are rewarded materially and symbolically for their occupational endeavors, or to be gratified in the role of wage-earner, they must have a high school education.

The foundation for later academic success is laid down by the time the child is eight or nine years of age. If the foundation is weak, the edifice constructed upon it will be extremely shaky and unable to support any additional weight. The tragedy is that the public school system, by and large, has been far from effective in laying this foundation with lower-lower class children. Anyone who has studied the problem is well aware of the close correlation between social class and school performance. Research data have consistently confirmed this finding. As a small example, the seven elementary schools in the Ypsilanti, Michigan School System were rank ordered according to two ciiteria of social class, percent of children on welfare and percent of broken homes. The buildings were then rank ordered according to their performance on standard intelligence and achievement tests. There was almost a perfect negative correlation between the two rank orders.

The more discerning educators and informed laymen are now focusing on strategies for dealing with the problem. Many efforts have been made in a variety of school systems to offer compensatory educational programs,

with limited or contradictory results. For example, Rosenthal (1967) recently found that the teacher's initial expectations about a child's achievement is significantly correlated with his subsequent achievement. Coleman (1966) found that mixing middle class and lower class children seems to increase the school performance of the lower class child. Clark (1965) believes that if teachers raise their standards for lower class children, their performance will improve. Hylan Lewis* stated that teachers should be heldpersonally responsible for the learning of their students, and that sanctions should be applied against the teachers if the students do not learn. Cloward (1967) found that using low-income children to tutor younger low-income students improves the achievement of both groups, Donald Smith, of the University of Michigan, focuses on programmed instruction as a major solution. Suppes (1966) emphasizes the need for computerized instruction. Bereiter (1966) reports twenty point gains in IQ when a highly structured preschool program is offered focusing on language development. The Flint School System feels a community school is the answer. Schafer (1965) found that the structure of the school system pushes children out of the classroom. Litwak (1966) feels that linkages between the school and the primary group are needed. Others attest to the importance of a small pupil-teacher ratio, remedial reading programs, better trained teachers, better paid teachers, community control of the school, etc.

Where is the pattern in all of these recommendations and findings? Is there an answer to be found? It is the contention of this paper that there is no one answer. The basis for the school's ineffectiveness in educating lower class children is not to be found in any one area or segment of our educational institution but in a whole complex of

*The statement was made in a talk delivered at Columbia University in June, 1967.

factors touching all levels of analysis. Thus any solution aimed at altering one variable is bound to have limited success. On the other hand, because of the multiple nature of the causitive factors, very diverse approaches may have some impact, and thus thoroughly confuse one who is trying to comprehend the problem.

This paper will attempt to delineate some of the critical variables which contribute to the problem of education of lower-lower class youngsters. The factors arise from many aspects of our society as well as both the intrapersonal and interpersonal realms. To organize the discussion to follow, the variables will be grouped into four levels of analysis: Cultural, Social Organizational, Primary Group, and Individual.

## The Cultural Level

1. Of prime importance is the nature of our technology. As machines become increasingly complex and pervasive, there is little room remaining for the unskilled laborer. Even floor polishers and lawn mowers today necessitate some ability to handle delicate and potentially dangerous machinery. In addition, there is every indication that the trend to mechanization and automation will increase as the use of computers grows and invades more sectors of our economy.

2. The ideology of our society places value primarily on instrumental, goal-oriented activities. Although an occasional poet, artist, or philosopher is honored, this act is relatively rare and only tends to free the populace to ridicule others interested in those or similar fields.

3. The Protestant Ethic described by Weber (1958) is still highly valued in our pluralistic society. Hard work and self-sacrifice are respected and indulgence in sensual pleasure without concern for the future denigrated. This is grossly manifested in the bill before the Michigan State Legislature which would require the elimination from welfare rolls unemployed men and women who refuse job training.

4. The mass media, particularly TV are ubiquitous, even in the homes of the most disadvantaged of families. Thus there is a continual, vivid reminder ever present of the comforts and luxuries enjoyed by the more affluent members of society. The mass media also illustrates in a manner discernible to all, what the rewards are for internalizing the values of society and behaving in an acceptable fashion. The realities of life for the members of the underclass illustrate equally well what the sanctions are for non-acceptance of those values, or for the inability to behave in the appropriate manner. Thus a sense of bitterness, frustration, and self-denigration often become a component of a large number of children from low-income homes. The relation between self-rejection and poor academic performance has been shown to be a close one. Clark (1952) has indicated that the problem is even more severe for Negro children who also absorb at an early age the view permeating our society that black skin is demeaning.

5. The generally racist nature of our society has an additional detrimental effect on Negro children. The militant civil rights movement may be altering the picture of self-hatred often applied to members of the Negro race in the United States but the impact of the movement has yet to be researched. (Inasmuch as this paper is attempting to comment on the total lower-lower class population, a discussion of the specific problems of Negro members of this group would be beyond its scope, and therefore will not be dealt with in any detail.)

No discussion of the cultural level of analysis is complete without an exposition of the relevant aspects of knowledge and technology which are missing at present. We do not really know how young children learn. We know very little about the techniques of fostering the development of the cognitive structure. We know very little of the optimal manner of presenting new material so that it will be comprehended and intergrated into

the knowledge already absorbed. We do not really know how to help children organize the information they have accumulated. We do know that some children will learn regardless of how the material is presented; other children, of normal intelligence, will have severe difficulties no matter what we do. Because teachers "teach" is no guarantee that students learn. We also do not know what specific child-rearing variables are related to specific types of behavior. Much research is now being done in all these areas, but the results thus far are far from complete.

The above discussion pertains to the modal culture of the United States. There are sub-cultures, however, which resemble the modal belief system in many ways but also contain elements which are contrary to dominant view. One of these sub-cultures is that of the lower-lower class. An outstanding description of their ideology was offered by Walter Miller (1958) who highlighted two aspects which conflict with the modal culture of this country. One such element is the attribution of great value to toughness (i.e. endurance, physical prowess, bravery), rather than to cognitive abilities. Another aspect is the belief that luck or fate is responsible for success and not hard work. This view is diametrically opposed to the Protestant Ethic of hard work and self-sacrifice as the appropriate means to achieve success. Although it is true that a belief in toughness, or that external factors determine one's life, has survival value for an underclass population, it is equally true that such a view is maladaptive to the child in the classroom. Schools value planning ahead, delay of gratification for future rewards, and self-discipline. The child who feels that little he does today will guarantee gratification tomorrow, and that one should take pleasure when one can get it since the opportunity may be a long time in re-appearing, will have severe difficulties in school. Similarly, the belief in the importance of establishing one's masculinity at an early age conflicts with school

performance. When students are sensitive to attacks upon their physical prowess, and feel they must continually assert their toughness by fighting, classroom discipline quickly breaks down and the teacher becomes the peacemaker rather than the instructor.

The Social Organizational Level

Combining the factors discussed above, one can say that the culture places value on dependability, knowledge, technical competence, goal-oriented behavior, and self-descipline. These values have a direct impact upon the social organizational level of society in that they become translated into the goals of the major socialization institution we have, the public school system.

The school system effects the child as soon as he enrolls in kindergarten. The student role demands in the typical school are rather subtle and never clearly spelled out. If the student is to perform adequately, he must display initiative and curiosity in relation to subject matter but be complying and passive in relation to school authorities. He is asked to interact actively but in a positive fashion in relation to his peers, exerting leadership when he can, yet he must never overstep the bounds of verbal behavior and become physically agressive. If he wishes to fight, this must be confined to non-school territory. In school he is encouraged to stand up for his rights, but verbally, not physically. He must follow rules, yet understand the principles involved to be able to use his own judgment as to when the rules may be altered. He must accept his teacher as his superior, yet feel free to think for himself and express his own thoughts. The very form of self-expression must be in a lanugage that his teacher considers appropriate for school and preferably in a structure she can comprehend and finds pleasant. He is told that

at home he is free to use any language acceptable to his parents. Thus the child is confronted with many bounded areas to which he must respond differentially.

The middle class mother is familiar with the demands of the student role having internalized them and performed the role adequately herself. Thus she has far less difficulty in explicating the complexities of the role to her children. In contrast, the lower-lower class mother has neither internalized the role demands, nor even understands them completely. According to Katz (1967) the lower class Negro mother is often even unable to recognize intellectual pursuits by her children because of her own educational deficiencies. Hess (1965) found that lower class mothers start their children off for school telling them to obey the teacher. The middle class mother, on the other hand, explains to her child that the teacher is there to instruct the students and the child's job in school is to learn.

Another aspect of the student role is to communicate in a complex language structure which Bernstein (1965) has called an elaborate code. The lower-lower class child has never learned this means of communication and uses what Bernstein calls a restricted code. An elaborate code involves the communication of particularistic messages which must be attended to carefully. The restricted code, which is felt to foster in-group cohesion, communicates rather stereotyped messages which are very familiar to the listener and which tend to apply to all individuals in one status. The elaborate code is individaally oriented. The elaborate code transmits detailed information; the restricted code transmits familiar stereotyped messages. According to Bernstein, middle class children can

"switch codes" using the restricted code with their friends, or their family on some occasions, and the elaborate code when they want to transmit specific information. The lower class child can use the restricted code only. Thus when the child from the low-income family enters school, he is unaccustomed to the linguisitc code his teacher is using and is unable to comprehend what she is saying (giving a complex set of directions, for example). Even more serious, he is unable to communicate to her his own bewilderment.

The role of the teacher also creates an obstacle to effective teaching of lower class children. Virtually throughout their training teachers are taught that the goals of education are not measurable, that teachers are educating the "whole child" and that their success is therefore not researchable. The teacher "knows" when she is doing a good job. No one else can really tell. This orientation has created two difficulties. It interferes with the teacher's attempt to delineate what her specific goals are, not in global terms, but in operational terms which are then measurable on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis. It also has impeded research in the field of education considerably. Only recently, with the introduction of programmed instruction, have educators begun to analyze the tiny steps that are necessary to master the skills required in addition, spelling, or comprehension of complex concepts in geography and science.

The role of the administrator of the school has similarly impeded the education of the disadvantaged child. There are problems of commission as well as omission. Insofar as the latter is concerned there is nothing in the role-demand of principal, assistant superintendent, or superintendent that requires the formation of linking mechanisms with the community, or with the parents of the students.

The PTA is the only formal avenue for involvement of non-professionals in schools, and its structure has become so bureaucratized and rigid that there seems little hope of ever restoring the organization to its original function of service as a channel to two-way communication between the school and the parents. The problem of commission revolves about the utilization of school administrators as building managers, book rental-fee collectors, milk machine repairmen, etc. rather than as curriculum experts and supervisors of the instructional staff. For the most part, the principal does little about the fact that many children are having severe learning difficulties and/or that the curriculum is inappropriate for some students. The consequence is that too often neither the principal, nor any one else in the school system assumes responsibility for trying to do a more effective job of teaching children.

The structure of the school itself interferes with the learning of young under-class children. Students are taught in large groups varying from twenty-five to thirty-five with little individualization of instruction in spite of much lip service to its cause. Some find the curriculum too difficult; others find it too easy. There is little opportunity for the students to progress at their own pace. They are promoted a full year, or a full semester, or retained for a full year or full semester. Even when an ungraded program is instituted, the teachers do not have the training or the material to teach each child at his own level, thus little is accomplished. In a study conducted in Ypsilanti, Michigan, it was found that the better students were no better off in an ungraded program than a graded one largely because the teachers had nothing new to offer them.

Virtually all teachers are placed on tenure, after a probation period of one year or two. Removing them from their position beyond that point is almost impossible. Thus teachers may remain in their position who are not sympathetic to lower class children, or who are sympathetic but do not understand either their emotional or cognitive needs.

In addition, interpersonal relations between teacher and student are critical. Research by Rosenthal (1967) and others have shown that the expectations teachers have of their students affects student performance. Other studies have shown that the student who feels his teacher likes him, does better. Other less definitive findings, have shown that lower class children need more structure in the classroom if they are to learn because they are unable to supply that structure themselves. These variables are important to the education of the lower-class child, yet there is nothing in the school structure that provides for effective in-service training. The teacher, in a professional role, expects to be autonomous and resists supervision. Even if there were openness to a continuing education program on the part of the teaching staff, there is no time. Teachers work from 8 to 4 and are supposed to find time for planning and grading papers during that perood. There is great resistance to volunteering to work overtime to increase one's skills or knowledge. Thus, time must be made available either by closing school, which is not in the students' interest, or by paying teachers to stay after 4 P.M., or on week-ends or during the summer for additional training. Few school districts are able to afford this luxury, and inducements such as higher pay for additonal courses taken do not motivate all teachers. It

probably motivates those who need the training the least. In addition, teachers are free to take a wide variety of courses taught at any university. There is no training program built into the structure of the school system specifically designed to meet the needs of teachers of lower class children, and required of all teachers working with these youngsters. This deficiency is particularly serious when one realizes that few teachers training institutions offer courses focusing on the problems of disadvantaged children, and even fewer offer student teacher assignments in ghetto schools, where many of the graduates will teach.

Just as the principal's role does not demand forming a linkage with the parents, so too, the teacher's role is deficient in this respect. Parents who come to school for conferences at the designated times are welcomed. Those who do not are seen as uncooperative regardless of the realities of their lives. There is usually little desire on the part of the teacher to visit the parent at home. Even when this desire exists, there is not time as part of the regular working day for this visit to occur. The absence of a two-way channel of communication between teacher and lower-class parent creates two problems: the teacher is unaware of the milieu in which the student lives the 18 hours per day when he is not in school and the parent is unaware of what she can do to reinforce and support the learnings taking place in class. Thus the cost is high indeed.

Another difficulty that there is rarely a structure within the school system specifically responsible for research and development as there is in industry. The few school systems which have been

able to afford this luxury invariably find implementing innovations far more difficult that the research per se. Teachers are traditionally rulers of their own classrooms and with their door closed they can be almost impervious to outside influence when they wish to be. According to Bidwell (1965) innovation is not really possible in a school system unless the staff supports the change.

As was mentioned in the introduction, through funds provided by state and federal programs, efforts are being made to make schools more flexible institutions, responsive to the needs of all children. Significant research is going on, particularly in the area of computerized instruction and early education. These are very small drops in very large buckets however.

Another role system on the social organizational level that has great impact on the lower-lower class child in the peer group. It is through this avenue that many of the values of the sub-culture are transmitted to the young child. Although the neighborhood does not begin to exert an influence on the child until he is seven or eight years of age because of maternal overprotectiveness (Radin and Kamii, 1965), by nine or ten years of age, the peer group has become the dominant influence. Research data are not available to confirm this statement, but personal experience by many school social workers has indicated that the lower-lower class mother loses virtually all control over her child by the time he is ten, relinquishing it to the child's peers. Mothers have often expressed the view that they are unable to control their children after a certain point. As one mother put it, "Once they begin to wiggle I can't do a thing with them." The reasons for the complete dominance of the peer group among lower class children needs further exploration but one factor which may contribute

is that the subculture values masculinity and, according to Parsons (1959), it is the peer group that offers regards for physical prowess. In addition, mothers often have to assume the role of both task-leaders and socio-emotional leaders in Bales' (1955) terms since fathers are often absent or ineffectual. This lessens the affectual relations possible between mother and child, particularly when the mother rarely openly expresses approval of the child's activities (Kamii and Radin, 1967). Thus the lower-class child is likely to turn to his peers for approval and acceptance on a much more intense basis than his middle-class classmate.

The Primary Group Level

Of all the levels of analysis, this is perhaps the most critical one when the problem of the poor school performance of lower-class children is considered. It is through the primary group, the family, that the beliefs of the culture are transmitted. It is also in the primary group that attitudes, skills, and motivations are fostered, or not fostered, which are essential for academic achievement. Reference has already been made to the preparation the parent gives to his child for the role of student. By the time this instruction has taken place, however, traditionally before the age of five, the mold is already fairly firm, and the outlines of the final product can be seen.

On a gross level one can point to the absence of role models of successful students which can be emulated in the primary group of the lower-lower class child. Bandura (1965) has given ample evidence of the importance of imitation as a learning mechanism. But even on a more specific level there are differences between

the lower class and middle class home which are related to the differences in school performance of these children. Recent research by Kamii and Radin (1965), among others, have indicated that underclass mothers do not foster the development of internal controls in their preschool-aged children. Rather these parents attempt to protect their children from the dangers they see in the external world and to suppress the dangers they feel are arising from within the child, such as aggressiveness and evidences of sexuality. Thus they attempt to shield their children from the dangers they perceive but do not prepare them to cope with problematic situations. An example of this type of parental behavior is setting down specific rules for the children to follow, or forbidding them to engage in certain activities. Missing is an effort to explain to the youngster the reason for the regulation. Similarly, the lower class parent tends not to foster the ability to forsee the consequences of various acts so that a decision might be made as to the most appropriate behavior under a specific set of circumstances. Defiance of rules is punished, but not defiance of principles. The child is taught to follow the orders of authority figures but not to make judgments for himself as to appropriate behavior. The consequence is seen in the classroom where children tend to be passive in the presence of the teacher and obstreperous in her absence. When the teacher is not seen as an authority, which happens on occasion, particularly with substitute teachers, they are obstreperous even in her presence.

An authoritarian relationship between parent and child is generally approved of in low-income homes. This has been shown many times (Zuckerman, 1960; Radin and Glasser, 1964). Lower class mothers heartily approve of statements such as, "Children should never learn things outside their homes which makes them doubt their parents' ideas". Seventy-five percent of a lower-class population agreed with this statement in a recent study (Radin and Glasser, 1965), but only 14% of the middle-class population. This

style of child-rearing may have considerable consequences emotionally, but what is of greater concern here is that it has cognitive consequences. The child is not encouraged to inquire, to doubt, to think for himself. He is to accept without question the words of his superiors.

If there is one underlying theme to the child-rearing pattern of lower class families it is lack of flexibility, a tendency to rigidity in the linguistic pattern, in the authority relations, and in the cognitive style, none of which are adaptive to the school setting.

The importance of cognitive stimulation for future intellectual development is well known. Hunt (1961) highlighted this factor in his now-famous book, "Intelligence and Experience". It is now common knowledge that the lower class child has had few intellectually stimulating experiences before entering school. In a recent study in Ypsilanti, it was found that the number of towns visited by the child from the disadvantaged home correlated significantly both with IQ on entering preschool and with the gain made in that program. But in the past few years another difference between lower-class and middle-class family life has been recognized. This is the presence of the hidden curriculum in middle-class homes, regardless of external experiences. Parents are continually teaching their children, as naturally as they feed, bathe, and clothe them. Shapes, colors, numbers, names of objects, words on signs, etc. are all part of the continuous input to the child. Books are read, stories are told, intellectual currosity is rewarded, and efforts perceived as school-oriented are praised. These activities are not part of the mother's role in the lower-class home. She sees her function as meeting the child's physical and emotional needs, but not his cognitive needs. Thus the middle-class mother incorporates components of the teacher role in her own functioning as a parent; the lower-class parent does not. That fact accounts for a major portion of the re son for the poorer performance on intelligence tests of lower class children

before they spend their first day in school. Research in Ypsilanti has shown that the mean IQ of a disadvantaged population of children four years of age on the Stanford Binet Intelligence Test is 94. This finding has been confirmed all over the country. Thus the disadvantaged child enters kindergarten with cognitive deficits unrelated to constitutional factors, most educators believe.

In the past few years compensatory educational programs such as the Early Education Program in Ypsilanti and Susan Gray's program in Nashville, Tennessee have attempted to train the lower-class mother to incorporate the hidden curriculum into her own child-rearing practices. How successful this effort has been is yet to be shown.

Hess' (1965) work has emphasized another aspect of parent-child relations in which the lower and middle class mothers differ. He has found that the teaching styles of the two groups are not the same. Middle class mothers attempt to help the child solve a new problem by offering an overview of the entire problem and the goals the children will have to achieve. She responds to specific moves by the child, correcting errors and explaining why the act was erroneous. Lower class mothers on the other hand, in attempting to help a child solve a problem merely give specific directions without explanation which does not facilitate the achieving of a solution. The emphasis once again is on following specific rules or directions rather than principles.

Final mention must be made of the physical conditions of the lower-class home, which are so deleterious for intellectual achievement. A study completed (Radin and Weikart, 1967) indicated that not only are the lower-class homes far more crowded but there is usually inadequate lighting. Personal observation has also indicated that the TV blast is omnipresent and there is rarely a surface on which to write. It has often astonished me that any reading or homework can be completed at all under the conditions that exist.

The Individual Level

As would be expected, the major influence on the child is the primary group. Thus, in the material to be discussed below, it is largely as a result of his participation in the family that the delineated attitudes, skills, and motivations develop. However, the culture does have a direct impact through the mass media which have already been discussed. Similarly, reference has already been made of two factors at the social organizational level that impinge directly on the child, the school and the peer group.

Recent work by Hunt (1961) and others have indicated that the developing intellectual capacity of the child is not the result of hereditary or constitutional factors alone but of the interaction of those biological characteristics with the environment. Piaget (1964) postulates that the more schemas the child has already assimilated, the more new material and schemas he is able to assimilate. Rosenweig, et. al. (1964) have shown distinct anatomical differences exist in the cortex of rats who were raised in a stimulating environment and those who were raised either alone or with littermates but with no "toys" with which to play. Hence it appears that raising a child in a unstimulating environment produces a youngster with more limited capacity at the age of five than he might have had if he had been raised in a stimulating milieu. According to Bloom (1964) a large fraction of the intelligence of the child is already fixed by the age of five. No amount of environmental change beyond that point can affect the intellectual capacity upward to any significant extent.

Even at the age of four, qualitative differences can be seen between middle-class and lower-class children's cognitive abilities, regardless of IQ. Sigel (1967) found that middle class children are able to classify pictures of familiar objects according to some organizing principle but lower class children have great difficulty in this area even though they can label the object in the picture and can classify the three dimensional objects portrayed in the pictures. The mental schema of the object is not

sufficiently developed however for the child to manipulate the mental image of the object. What is the cause of this deficiency is not known. All that can be concluded is that children from low-income homes enter kindergarten with cognitive deficits vis-à-vis their middle class peers.

Another difference, not strictly cognitive, but related to later school success is the inability of lower-class children at preschool age to engage in social-dramatic play, or to motor encode in the absense of the real object, or to take on another's role in a reciprocal relationship. This has been found in Israel by Smilasky (1965) who studied Oriental Jews, as well as by the teachers in the compensatory preschool programs in Ypsilanti. It is believed that this inability is related to the absence of games of pretending going on between mother and child in lower class homes. The ability to imagine situations which do not exist is critical for reading, understanding geography, history, and many other subjects. It is also essential for concept formation according to Piaget (1954) who sees cognitive structures as being dependent upon actions on objects by the individual which are then internalized and result in the ability to manipulate objects mentally.

Reference has previously been made to the more limited internal control and self-direction found in lower-class children which hinders their school performance. But the problems are not confined to skills which are lacking in children from low-income homes. There are skills they possess which are dysfunctional for academic competence. One of these is the ability to tune out undesirable words and sounds. This ability is highly functional in a crowded home but distinctly maladaptive in the classroom. Another such maladaptive skill is the ability to express one's emotions motorically rather than verbally. Unfortunately schools are not geared to this mode of expression and much of the discipline problem in ghetto schools can be related to this factor.

Reference has been made above to the low self-image of lower-class children, particularly Negro lower-class children, as well as to the belief in fate and high esteem placed upon physical prowess,,and mention made that these views are not adaptive to the classroom. Other attitudes which are detrimental to school performance relate to the tendency of lower class children to hold unrealistic standards for their own performance. Some preliminary work by Katz (1967) has shown that many lower class children set unrealistically high standards for themselves, and are therefore certain to experience failure and feelings of inadequacy. Possibly the unrealistic standards are related to their fear of failure. Atkinson (1964) has shown that when fear of failure is high, the level of aspiration will either be unrealistically high or low, but not in the moderate realm where a chance of meaningful success is likely. Thus past failures breed continued feelings of failure.

Insofar as relevant motivation is concerned, the most critical disposition is motivation to achieve. Although there is some disagreement among researchers as to whether any achievement motivation exists at all among lower-lower class children, it is more generally believed (Katz, 1967) that the motive exists, but that the arena in which the achievement is sought is not related to academic work, but to toughness, physical power and athletic skill. There is also evidence that learning per se does not bring gratification to many underclass children, as it does for those in the middle class. However, Cohen (1967) working with lower class delinquents, found that by offering concrete rewards for academic achievement, learning eventually became self-reinforcing. This would indicate that a re-channeling of the achievement motivation can be induced much later in life than the early age that Veroff (1965) would undoubtedly consider ideal. Perhaps re-directing an existing motivational disposition is entirely different from the genesis of a new motivational tendency. If so, there is much room for optimism in work with disadvantaged children.

To summarize, a vast number of factors are impeding the effectiveness of schools in educating young children from lower-lower class homes. Some of these factors are societal in nature, some organizational, some familial, and some individual. No one remedy will be sufficient to resolve the problem, nor will attacking the problem at any one level of analysis. What is clearly needed is a massive attack at all levels, along with the development of a new legitimate opportunity structure for those few who will never be able to advance in the educational institution. Anything less than this is doomed to failure. The costs of such a program would be enormous but the costs of not instituting such a program are far greater.

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